1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

### *Cousin Marriage*

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

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764 793 • 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women
593
522 alike in Sanlei village:

> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 The above discussion of many domineering wives and
593
591 henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable